Where Are All the Women?:
The Role of Women in Politics

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New Leadership Idaho
May 23, 2016
The Plan for Our Time Together

- A Little Background
- The State of Women in Politics Today
- Impact of Women in Politics
- The Future of Women Leaders
A Little Background

WOMEN & THE VOTE
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
POLITICAL ATTITUDES
Women in Politics: A Brief History

- Women & the Vote
  - Women's Suffrage Gained Strength in 1840s
  - Idaho Women Granted the Vote in 1896
  - 19th Amendment Ratified in 1920
CARTOON TO BE DISPLAYED IN BEHALF OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

"It Is Not Good That Man Should Be Alone"

Give Oregon a Helpmate Vote 300x Yes

Ore...
Suggested Films

MOTHERS. DAUGHTERS. REBELS.
MOTHERS. DAUGHTERS. REBELS.
MOTHERS. DAUGHTERS. REBELS.
MERYL STREEP
CAREY MULLIGAN
HELENA BONHAM CARTER
SUFFRAGETTE

VOTES FOR WOMEN
IRON JAWED ANGELS
Hilary Swank
Frances O'Connor
Juliette Ormond
Octavia Husston
Lead, follow or get out of the way.
Political Participation of Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Women Participation</th>
<th>Men Participation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>71.9% (37.5mil.)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>69.8% (38.0mil.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>59.8% (45.6mil.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>58.3% (47.7mil.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>56.3% (58.5mil.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>60.4% (70.4mil.)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Note: The table above shows the percentage of women and men participating in political activities over the years, with the number of participants indicated in millions. The graph below illustrates the trend over time.
Women’s Political Attitudes: Women are Not a Monolithic Voting Block

- **Compassion Issues (Women More Supportive)**
  - Social Welfare: Aid to Children, Elderly, Homeless, Poor

- **Use-of-Force Issues (Women More Opposed)**
  - Less Supportive of War & the Death Penalty
  - More Supportive of Gun Control

- **Moral Issues (Depends on the Issue)**
  - More Supportive of Restrictions on Pornography
  - More Opposed to Marijuana Legalization
  - More Supportive of Prayer in School

- **“Women’s” Issues**
  - Abortion (No Real Differences)
  - Contraception (No Real Difference)

- **Modest Differences**
  - Not Constant Over Time
  - Subgroups Differ
    - PID, Race, Class, Age, Religion, Marital Status, Sexual Orientation
The State of Women in Politics Today

THE U.S. CONGRESS
THE EXECUTIVE
THE COURTS & APPOINTED POSITIONS
REASONS FOR LOW NUMBERS
A SILVER LINING?
The State of Women in Politics Today: The U.S. Congress

- Women Make Up 50.8% of US Population

- 114th Congress → 108 Women (Convened in January 2015)
  - 88 in the House of Representatives (20.2%)
  - 20 in the Senate (20%)

- Women in Office Tend to...
  - Be Older
  - Have Grown Children
  - Be Democrat
Women in Congress (1971-2014)
The State of Women in Politics Today: Idaho Women in The U.S. Congress

- Idaho Representation
  - 2 Senators
  - 2 House Members

- 2 Idaho Women Have Represented Us in Congress
The State of Women in Politics Today:
The Executive

- 1872: First Woman Candidate for President (Victoria Woodhull)
- 1972: First Black Woman to Seek Major Party-Nomination (Shirley Chisholm)
- 1984: First Female Vice Presidential Candidate (Geraldine Ferraro)
- 2008: Hillary Clinton & Sarah Palin
- 2012: Jill Stein (Green Party Candidate)
- 2016: Hillary Clinton
The State of Women in Politics Today: The Court & Appointed Positions

- **Cabinet-Level Appointments**
  - 48 Women Have Served in Cabinet-Level Appointments
  - 7 Women Currently Serve in the Obama Administration

- **The Supreme Court**
  - 3 Women Currently Serve on U.S. Supreme Court
  - Federal Courts of Appeals: 60 or 170 are Women (35%)
The State of Women in Politics Today: Women in Politics Across the Globe

- U.S. Ranks 72nd in the World for Women in Government

- Top Rankings
  - 1st: Rwanda
  - 2nd: Bolivia
  - 3rd: Cuba

- Women Hold 22% of Legislative Seats Worldwide

- 22 Women Heads of State
Why Are These Numbers So Low?

- Variety of Explanations
  - Pipeline Theory
  - Gender Stereotypes
  - Career Choice
  - Political Ambition
  - Family Demands
  - Sex Discrimination
  - The Political System
Explanations: Waiting on the Pipeline

 Pipeline Theory

 Women Increase in Socioeconomic Status ➔
  More Women Will Choose Political Careers ➔
   More Experience in Politics at Local Level ➔
    More Women in State & National Offices

 Our Pipeline Simply Has Not Caught Up Yet
Explanations: Waiting on the Pipeline

- Flaws with Pipeline Theory

- Despite Growing Eligibility Pool Women Are Still Less Likely to Be in Office

- Why?
  - Women Are Less Likely to Become Candidates
Explanations:
Gender Stereotypes

- Historically Seen As Inappropriate for Women
  - Is this still true today?
Explanations:
Gender Stereotypes

- Harmful Stereotypes
  - Emotional Suitability
  - Toughness
  - Knowledge & Experience in Military Affairs
  - Knowledge & Experience in Foreign Policy

- Helpful Stereotypes?
  - More Liberal (For Democrat Women)
  - Honest
  - Trustworthy
  - Collegial
  - Transparent
Explanations:
Gender Stereotypes

- Gallup Polls (Since 1937)
- “Would you vote for a well qualified woman?”

- Results
  - 1937: 33%
  - 1960: 50%
  - 1975: 73%
  - 1999: 92%
  - 2002: 90%
  - September 2002
    - 65% Would Vote For a Woman
    - 7% Would Not
    - 28% Unsure
Figure 10-2  Support for Presidential Candidates, 1937–2011: Gender, Race, Ethnicity, and Sexual Orientation
Explanations:
Media Bias

- Impacts Perception of Viability
  - Quantity of Coverage
  - Placement of Stories
  - Coverage of Issues
    - Foreign Affairs vs. Domestic Issues
  - Content of Coverage
    - Personality & Appearance vs. Record
    - Novelty of Woman Candidate
  - Double Bind
Hillary’s Pantsuits
Explanations: Career Choice

- Careers Influence Choice to Run
- Male-Dominated Careers
  - Legal
  - Business
- Female Dominated Careers
  - Teaching
  - Nursing
- Springboard Careers
  - Law
  - Business
  - Public Service
    - Often Military
- Gaps Are Decreasing
Explanations: Political Ambition

- Ambition for Political Office is Lower

- Why?
  - Negative Feelings Toward Campaigning
  - Party Recruitment
  - Balance of Family & Work
    - Local Office
    - Timing (Entering Political Arena Later in Life)
  - Negative Self Perception
Explanations:
Family Demands

- Perceptions of Family Demands
  - Women with Children Less Suited for Office
    - Example: Sarah Palin
  - Scrutinized in Media
  - Less Prevalent at Lower Levels of Service

- Support of Spouse
  - Primary Caregiver
  - Domestic Responsibilities

- Late Start in Politics
  - The Baby Track

![Image of Todd Palin]
“Woman’s place in politics is about four feet from the kitchen sink.”

William Allen White (Kansas Gubernatorial Candidate)

- **Explanations:**
  - Sex Discrimination

- **Hard to Study**
  - No One Wants to Admit It
  - Compliance with Traditional/Cultural Norms

- **What Drives Sex Discrimination?**
  - Cultural Stereotypes
    - Abilities
    - Appropriateness of Women in Politics
  - Self Interest
    - Don’t Want to Share Power

- **Restrooms**
  - House of Representatives: July 2011
  - Senate: 1993
Explanations:
The Political System

- **Campaign Finance**
  - Campaigns are Expensive
  - More Difficult to Raise Funds?
    - No Gender Gap
    - Challenger Gap
  - Rise in PACs
    - EMILY’s List
    - NOW
  - More Difficult for Minority Women

- **Party Organization**
  - Financial Support
    - Parties Used to Be More Supportive of Men
    - Women Now Receive More $
  - Republicans: Difficulty Recruiting Women
    - Especially in the South
Explanations: The Political System

- **US System**
  - Single-Member
  - Winner-Take-All

- Few Districts Have Multi-Member Districts
  - Women Do Better

- More Challengers in Primaries
  - Including Other Women

- **Incumbency Advantage**
  - Tough to Be a Newcomer to Politics
  - Incumbents Have 90% or Higher Election Rate

- Where Do Women See More Success?
  - Open Seats
  - Special Elections
  - Unsafe Seats
The Silver Lining

- Men are No More Likely to Win Than Women

- Women See More Representation in State & Local Politics
  - States Still Low But Increasing
  - Local Much Higher
    - City
    - County
    - School Boards
Women Serving in State Legislatures
# Women Serving in State Legislatures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Legislators</th>
<th>State Senators</th>
<th>State Representatives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>1,091</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>826</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>707</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>541</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonpartisans</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Families Party</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>1,814</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>1,371</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Democrat percentages: 60.1%, 59.8%, 60.2%
Republican percentages: 39.0%, 37.5%, 39.5%
Nonpartisan percentage: 0.6%
Working Families Party percentage: 0.1%
Independent percentage: 0.2%
Total percentage: 100.0%
Ranking among state legislatures for the proportion of women:

- 1-10
- 11-20
- 21-30
- 31-40
- 41-50

Colorado (CO) is ranked 1st with 42.0%; Louisiana (LA) is 50th with 12.5%.

(If you can't see the map below, click here for a state by state list.)
# Top 10 & Bottom 10 States

Idaho is 17th (26.7)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Top 10 States</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Bottom 10</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermont</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>Wyoming</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevada</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>West Virginia</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>Utah</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maryland</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>Kentucky</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Montana</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oregon</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Women Serving as Governors
76 Women Hold Statewide Offices in the U.S.
- 33 Democrat
- 42 Republican

Idaho Has 7 Statewide Elected Positions
- 19 Women Have Served

1 Current Female Statewide Official in Idaho
- Sherri Ybarra (State Superintendent of Public Instruction)
Women Serving in Local Politics

- 17.5% of Mayors in U.S. Cities (30,000+) are Women

- 2 Idaho Cities with Women Mayors
  - Idaho Falls:  Rebecca Casper
  - Meridian:  Tammy de Weerd
The Impact of Women in Politics

DOES IT MATTER?
REPRESENTATION
LEADERSHIP
POLICY OUTCOMES
The Impact of Women in Politics: Representation

Symbolic Representation vs. Substantive Representation

Symbolic Representation

- Seeing Women Run for Office Increases Women’s Interest in Politics
- Can Mobilize Women to Be More Active & Run for Office

Substantive Representation

- Women More Likely to Advocate for “Women’s Issues”
  - But NOT in the Same Way
- Women Legislators are More Involved in Constituent Casework
- Women Legislators Have Higher Success Rate in Passing Legislation
  - Also Secure More Funding for Their Districts
The Impact of Women in Politics: Leadership Style

- Women Tend to Emphasize Collegiality & Collaboration
- Women Legislators Tend to Include More People in the Policymaking Process
The Impact of Women in Politics: Policy Outcomes

- Women in Congress Have Played Key Roles in Passing Laws for Women:
  - Title IX
  - Equal Credit Opportunity Act
  - Family Medical Leave Act
  - Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009
The Future of Women Leaders

THINGS TO THINK ABOUT

THINGS TO DO
Things to Think About

- Women Have Made Great Strides in Politics ➔ Still Only ¼ of All Officeholders

- We Need Diversity to Achieve Diverse Perspective
The confidence gap starts early. Between elementary and high school, girls' self-esteem drops 3.5 times more than boys'.
The Confidence Gap

Gender Gap in Leadership Confidence Expands During College Years

Source: Kawashima-Ginsberg and Thomas, CIRCLE Fact Sheet: Civic Engagement and Political Leadership Among Women – a Call for Solutions. Figures drawn from the HERI College Senior Survey, National aggregates tables, p.98. Data are based on the first-year survey and college senior survey administered for the class of 2009 cohort.
What Can We Do?

- Speak Out, Speak Often
- Encourage Young Women
- Fight Stereotypes & Sex Discrimination
- Become Politically & Civically Engaged
- Encourage Discussion of Issues
Have the courage to live a life true to yourself, not the life others expect of you.

Questions?

Thank You!